



ZINE
IDEA
TENTION
ABOLITION

A. THOMPSON

OR RATHER...

HOW DO WE
ABOLISH ICE
DETENTION GIVEN
ITS FLEXIBILITY,
CONTRACTING SCHEMES,
AND RELATIVE
MOBILITY ACROSS
STATES

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LEGAL STUFF...1

CASE STUDY...3

PERSPECTIVE..5

VISION.....9

IN 2021, the U.S. government detained ~250,000 people in its expansive network of local jails, state prisons, + private prison companies. These detentions arise from contracts btwn. these caging systems and ICE.

CONTRACTS

- * **INTERGOVERNMENTAL SERVICE AGREEMENTS (IGSA)**
facilities owned by states or local governments, or private companies, which contract to hold people for ICE
- * **DEDICATED IGSA (DIGSA)**
same facilities as above but that operate exclusively under ICE contract
- * **U.S. MARSHALS SERVICE INTERGOVERNMENTAL AGREEMENTS (USMS)**
contracted by U.S. Marshals service + used by ICE through a rider on the contract to detain people on behalf of ICE
- * **CONTRACT DETENTION FACILITIES**
privately-owned facilities contracted directly by ICE to only hold people in ICE custody

SOURCE:

DETENTION WATCH NETWORK

ICE'S CONTRACTING IS FLEXIBLE = DESIGNED = TO FACILITATE PROFITS FROM HUMAN LAGING

→ IGSA's often include pass-through agreements to contract with local governments who then contract directly with private detention. Who benefits from these back-door deals? Private companies get massive contracts and local governments get kickbacks.

Ex: City of Eloy, AZ got \$400K/year through an IGSA operated by a private company, Core Civic, which operated at a cost of \$261M over a 2-year period

→ USMS rider agreements (rider = addition to an already-existing contract) are the fastest way for ICE to expand because there are no negotiations on new terms, rates, or conditions. Instead, ICE piggybacks onto an already extant USMS contract. In 2019, 17% of people in ICE detention were held under these agreements. People can be easily arrested in one state & be detained in another

PROBLEM: ICE has an expansive toolbox to create detention centers with a variety of actors, with many interested parties. How does this impact ICE detention abolition?

CASE STUDY:

ICE Detention in IL-IN

For years, organizers in IL fought county-level contracts with ICE and organized against the building of new detention facilities. In 2021, the IL Way Forward Act passed after a statewide campaign garnered enough support.

Illinois Way Forward Act

- (1) No law enforcement agency... or any unit of state or local gov. may enter into or renew any contract... to house or detain individuals for federal civil immigration violations.
 - (2) Any... existing contract... utilized to house or detain individuals for civil immigration violations shall... termin[ate]... the agreement... no later than Jan. 1, 2022
- 5 ILCS 805/15(g)

"One piece of the deportation pipeline will be closed off"

- Fred Tsao, ICIRR

* Expansive policy barring all forms of ICE contracting

Three detention centers closed in 2022, two were "riders"

97% Clay County residents who are white

~10% Clay County residents in poverty

Clay County "keep[s] [its] cost down" because ICE pays "a profitable fee"
- Council Member Larry Moss

"ICE is paying us a lot of money"
- Council Member Thomas

"[ICE revenue] helps to keep our taxes down"
- Council Member Moss

→ April 24, 2022 County voted to expand the jail ←

12/6/21 Clay County Council Mtg.

ICE EXPANSION IN CLAY COUNTY

EXISTING CONTRACT

- US Marshals Service IGSA
- 65 beds, ICE pays Clay County \$55/day for each person detained

EXPANSION IN 2022

- build new housing pod with at least 265 beds, at a cost of
- \$25M

IN state law requires police cooperate with federal immigration authorities, there are no laws limiting ICE contracts

Communities not cages Indiana began mobilizing in opposition to the jail expansion in Oct. 2021



PEERS

COMMUNITIES NOT CAGES

- * Coalition of legal service providers and community-based organizers fighting the jail expansion in Clay County.
- * Utilized combined economic, appeals to human stories, and some abolitionist language to oppose jail expansion.
- * Organizers canvassed in Clay County, spoke to the City Council, generated petitions, and created toolkits to disseminate their message.

Imm. Detention = Human Rights Violations
Imm. Detention is the Wrong Response to Substance Abuse
NO Transparency in Contracting
Imm. Detention is a Burden for Clay County Taxpayers

From "Jail Expansion is the Wrong Answer for Clay County"



LECTIVES

Interview w/ Ro Solano, organizer

Organizing against ICE expansion in rural Indiana was very challenging for a few reasons: ① In this context, people are very comfortable profiting off the caging of Black + brown bodies, ② Republican control is so entrenched that they could dismiss opposition out of hand, ③ national politics + media undermined attempts to garner media coverage.

The organizing was ABOLITIONIST but given context, i.e. when trying to build a broader base, commitment to abolition was nascent, emergent, + even fragmented at best. There was a generational divide in the communications strategy about just how openly abolitionist to be - younger + women of color organizers had to be more militant about our values, rejecting deservingness narratives or economic arguments over human arguments. The older guard in the coalition felt economic + transparency arguments might persuade more local, white, rural and older Hoosiers. We tried as much as possible to couple these arguments with human stories and on an abolitionist emphasis on alternative futures for Clay County, away from a punitive culture and prison economy.

Unfortunately, the economic arguments failed to persuade. They didn't do anything except allow local officials to keep advancing their own economic arguments for jail expansion.

MY ADVICE FOR THE MOVEMENT:

don't fall into the trap of making economic arguments over human arguments. People like to believe people can be moved with data but in an increasingly partisan and racialized polarized landscape, people are not moving - they see cages and cops as a winning political strategy.

- From the outset, a more abolitionist lens would've allowed us to forge connections with other fights in the state, with the recovery community, or directly impacted folks at Clay or other IDOC facilities.
- "reforms" passed in the IN legislature in the 2010s increased jails exponentially the same corporation granted Clay's contract is responsible for 90% of all expansions and prisons built over the past decades.
- Our demands to stop ICE expansion didn't address what it could mean for people held in criminal custody there. The immigrant rights movement has not spent enough time unpacking this tension, so we had few models to look to. I felt very uncomfortable saying, don't expand ICE, without explicitly calling on the jail to be closed for criminal legal purposes too.

PERPECTIVES

MI RD

Solano

ON ICE Flexibility

ICE has a comparative advantage in moving across state lines, our target is moving. Red and blue states will continue to diverge in their policy responses to demands for decarceration. In the Clay fight, we navigated this by pushing for accountability from advocates in blue states (as other red state organizers had demanded of blue state folks in similar battles). Advocates in blue states got better at demanding releases not transfers, ~~but this could've happened~~

~~sooner~~. Instead, ICE more easily undermine our movement by essentially saying to blue states

"Well, this is what you wanted"

Perspective. We anticipated calls for access to directly impacted communities from other fights, but directly impacted folks in our coalition helped refute those claims. Nonetheless, hard questions remain for LSPs: how does the movement prevent cooptation? How do LSPs disentangle themselves from PIC? How do we parse out reformist - reforms from abolitionist reforms in the intermediate stages?

ON LSPs

Legal Service Providers can be ambivalent or tacitly supportive of ICE expansion and this came up in the early stages but we were able to overcome it through an abolitionist

VISIONING



SEEDING LESSONS

- ICE is formidable, immigrant justice organizers should embrace abolition
- build movements across state lines, anticipating detention movement
- develop legislative changes that restrict all types of ICE contracts

STORIES ARE POWERFUL

- reflections and memorializing experiences holds space for movements and is a valuable tool for future abolition work.
- There are lessons here, starting points, and opportunities for growth,

FUTURE

"We must continuously reinforce our values because, as we know, white supremacy and the carceral state will do anything to preserve + reproduce themselves"

- Ro Solano

gratitude:

this zine was created from SSAD 62100, thank you to Durrell + Sharlyn for making space, classmates for imagining a different world, R. Ford for zine design inspiration, + Ro Solano for her time, reflection, and trust.

"This is a long-term battle for us" - Hannah Cartwright, advocate